

JPRS-TAC-88-042
8 NOVEMBER 1988



JPRS Report

Arms Control

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CONTENTS

8 NOVEMBER 1988

CHINA

Disarmament Draft Resolution Submitted at UN	1
Conventional Disarmament Draft Submitted to UN	1

EAST EUROPE

INTRABLOC

Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers End Talks in Prague	2
Results of Political Consultative Committee Discussed [Prague RUDE PRAVO, 19 Oct]	2
More on Defense Meeting [Bucharest SCIN TEIA, 19 Oct]	2
GDR-USSR Military Exercises Conclude	3
Observers Briefed [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22-23 Oct]	3
Officials Bid Farewell [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 Oct]	3
Pact Foreign Ministers Outline Disarmament Measures [Budapest MTI]	4
U.S. INF Inspectors Arrive in GDR 30 Oct [East Berlin, ADN]	5

HUNGARY

Karpati Discusses Current Defense Policies [F. Karpati; NEPSZABADSAG, 29 Sep]	5
Pozsgay on Dismantling Western Border Alarm	9
MTI Cites Gen Abrahamson's Defense of SDI	9

NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

INDIA

Indian Papers Welcome Gorbachev Vladivostok Proposals	11
TIMES OF INDIA Editorial [THE TIMES OF INDIA, 19 Sep]	11
Communist Paper's Editorial [PATRIOT, 19 Sep]	11

Disarmament Draft Resolution Submitted at UN
OW0111185988 Beijing XINHUA in English
1836 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] United Nations, November 1 (XINHUA)—China has submitted a draft resolution to the current session of the General Assembly, which urges the two major nuclear powers to take the lead in halting nuclear arms race and reducing drastically their nuclear arsenals.

This is the third consecutive year that China has submitted similar drafts on nuclear disarmament to the General Assembly. The world body approved China's texts at its 41st and 42nd sessions without a vote.

This year's draft welcomes the signing and ratification of the INF treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States, and calls upon the two states to strictly observe and fully implement the treaty.

It urges the two states, which possess the most important nuclear arsenals, to further discharge "their special responsibility" for nuclear disarmament, and to negotiate in earnest for the drastic reduction of their nuclear arsenals.

One of the new elements in this year's draft is to express the belief that "the qualitative aspect of the arms race needs to be addressed along with its quantitative aspect."

It also stresses that "the most acute and urgent task" facing the world today is to remove the threat of a world war, particularly a nuclear war.

It reiterates that the ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

It is expected that the First Committee (political and security), which is presently deliberating disarmament issues, will accept the draft resolution by consensus and recommend it to the assembly for unanimous approval.

Conventional Disarmament Draft Submitted to UN
OW0311083088 Beijing XINHUA in English
0127 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] United Nations, November 2 (XINHUA)—China submitted this week to the U.N. General Assembly a draft resolution on conventional disarmament which urges the major military powers and alliances to make greater efforts in reducing their conventional arsenals.

The draft, which is being circulated in the First Committee (political and security), urges the countries with the largest military arsenals and the member states of the two major military blocs to conduct negotiations in earnest for an early agreement on the limitation and gradual and balanced reduction of their armed forces and conventional weapons.

Such reductions, notes the draft, should be under effective international control, and should take place in all the respective regions, particularly in Europe which has the largest concentration of arms and forces in the world.

It notes that the on-going conventional disarmament negotiations in Europe have gained increasing importance.

The draft calls on all states to intensify their efforts and take appropriate steps individually or in a regional context to promote progress in conventional disarmament.

It alerts member states to the fact that with the advance in science and technology, conventional weapons have become increasingly lethal and destructive, and that conventional armaments consume large amounts of resources.

This is the third time China has submitted draft resolutions on conventional disarmament to the U.N. General Assembly. The assembly accepted China's drafts by consensus or near consensus at its 41st and 42nd sessions.

INTRABLOC

Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers End Talks in Prague

Results of Political Consultative Committee Discussed

AU2110200988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
19 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Session of Warsaw Pact States' Defense Ministers Concluded; Collaboration Between Armies of the Allied Countries Vitaly Important; Joint Meeting of Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministers Under Preparation; Participants in Negotiations Received by Comrade Milos Jakes"]

[Text] Prague—A regular session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact Member States, chaired by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, was held in Prague on 17 and 18 October. The session was attended by the defense ministers and the commander-in-chief and chief of staff of the Allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states discussed in Prague the issues of practical activities carried out by the Allied Armed Forces, and the implementation of peace initiatives that had been launched by the Warsaw Pact member states and approved at the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee in July 1988; the committee adopted appropriate resolutions.

The session was held in a businesslike atmosphere, in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

Army General Milan Vaclavik granted the reporters from CTK, Czechoslovak Television, and OBRANA LIDU an interview on the course of the regular session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states:

The main sphere of issues we assessed during the deliberations covered tasks which resulted from this year's Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee, which had determined our further course from the viewpoint of disarmament programs.

We also discussed the improvement of our working methods, and assessed certain political aspects from the viewpoint of results reached in the negotiations of the follow-up Vienna meeting, as well as from the viewpoint of the overall military-political situation in the world. We also considered certain issues which should de facto help us resolve the problems which will be formulated at the joint meeting of the Warsaw Pact ministers of foreign affairs and of defense (which is being prepared). We also

conferred on the specific proposals we will be submitting to the next session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states.

—The participants in the regular session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states were received by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in Prague on Tuesday [18 October].

Army General Milan Vaclavik briefed the general secretary on the course and results of the session.

Milos Jakes expressed appreciation for the attention the committee paid in its deliberations to the implementation of the conclusions adopted at the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states in July 1988. He underscored that it is vital for the armies of the allied countries to collaborate in providing for the defense of the Warsaw Pact states and in protecting the results of their people's creative peaceful work. He emphasized the efforts of fraternal communist parties to achieve the adoption of specific disarmament measures and to strengthen confidence, security, and cooperation in Europe and in the world. He briefed those present on the conclusions reached during the deliberations at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session on the realization of economic restructuring and of the democratization of political and social life in Czechoslovakia.

Viktor Kulikov replied on behalf of the participants in the session.

The reception, which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, was also attended by Rudolf Hegenbart, CPCZ Central Committee member and Central Committee department head.

The Warsaw Pact ministers of defense departed from Prague on the same day.

More on Defense Meeting

AU2110184588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
19 Oct 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "On Results of the Meeting of the Warsaw Pact Member States' Defense Ministers Committee"]

[Text] An ordinary meeting of the Warsaw Pact Member States' Defense Ministers Committee was held between 17 and 18 October 1988 in Prague, under the chairmanship of the CSSR minister of national defense.

The meeting was attended by the defense ministers, commander-in-chief, and chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

The Defense Ministers Committee examined issues concerning the practical activity of the Joint Armed Forces and the implementation of peace initiatives formulated by the pact member states at the 1988 Warsaw meeting of the Consultative Political Committee, and adopted appropriate measures.

The meeting was held in a working atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual friendship and understanding.

GDR-USSR Military Exercises Conclude

Observers Briefed

AU2510143988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 22-23 Oct 88 p 3

[Rainer Funke dispatch: "Great Skills Were Proved at Joint Maneuvers"]

[Text] Magdeburg—On Friday [21 October] the joint troop exercises of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army [NVA] in the area of Wittstock, Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg were characterized by great skills and close cooperation between the staffs and troops of the two fraternal armies. As on the previous day, observers from 17 CSCE signatory states attended the exercises, which were led by Major General Aleksey Mityuchin, commander of a GSFG Army.

A highlight was the storming of the River Elbe near Sandau at noon, where motorized rifle and tank units crossed the river. They received air support from fighter bombers and combat helicopters. Pioneer troops built bridges and established bridgeheads for ferries, which also brought artillery, grenade launchers, and antiaircraft units, as well as troops of the rear services across the river.

In the positions of the NVA's Paul-Hegenbart regiment, Colonel Heinz Klose, deputy commander of the exercises, briefed the observers on the situation. Battalion commander Lieutenant Colonel Ingo Sperling explained the orders of his unit. Soldiers answered questions. For instance, there were talks between Lieutenant Colonel Chris Hughes (Great Britain), Noncommissioned Officer Steffen Kroll, and Private Guido Bredau, as well as between Lieutenant Colonel Philippe Martineaux (France) and soldier Jens Florett on the preparations for this highlight of their training and the tasks of the exercises. In the afternoon the observers visited a regiment first-aid station.

In a talk with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Major General Peter Herrich, head of the assistant staff, recalled that the current exercise is the sixth on GDR territory to be attended by observers since the Stockholm document came into force on 1 January 1987. During this time about 250 representatives from 27 CSCE signatory states

have used this opportunity to convince themselves of the peace assignment and the willingness for peace of the socialist armed forces in line with the defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact.

To date, the GDR has sent NVA officers to observe 40 exercises, including 16 NATO exercises. The general said that confidence-building measures are a firm element of the security policy of the Warsaw Pact states. Like the NVA, the GDR fulfills all its obligations in line with the Stockholm document and will continue to do so, Maj Gen Herrich stressed.

Officials Bid Farewell

AU2710181288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24 Oct 88 p 2

[Rainer Funke dispatch: "Comrades-in-Arms Concluded Joint Troop Maneuvers"]

[Text] Magdeburg—On Sunday [23 October] the 1-week exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army was concluded in the areas of Wittstock, Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg. The participating staffs and troops returned to the garrisons with their combat equipment.

On Saturday afternoon, the 33 representatives of 17 CSCE signatory states attended the embarkation of the first units at Jaevenitz railroad station, from which they were transported back to their posts. The number of participants in the exercise thus fell below the threshold fixed in the Stockholm document on maneuvers attended by observers.

On behalf of the GDR Government and Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, Major General Rudolf Magnitzke, deputy chief of the General Staff of the National People's Army, bade farewell to the representatives of the CSCE states. He said that over the past few days they had been able to convince themselves that the GDR strictly adheres to the stipulations of the Stockholm document for confidence-building measures and security and disarmament. Exercises as well as the training of troops and the staff of the Joint Armed Forces do not threaten anyone and are oriented toward sufficient defense capability, the general stressed. This is fully in the spirit of confidence-building and thus corresponds to the spirit of the Stockholm document, which has to be fulfilled in the future, too.

In spite of differing views, which also became obvious during the past exercise, overcoming military confrontation and the arms race—both with regard to nuclear and conventional weapons—should become an even stronger common concern in view of the resulting danger to the peoples. Maj Gen Magnitzke said that the starting point for this is in the efforts to prevent war and the search for trust, stability, and security.

On Saturday the observers followed the events in the Magdeburg training center, which consisted of dynamic combat actions. On this day of the exercise, the "southerners," which to date had fulfilled their tasks in defense, took the initiative and made a counterattack.

Pact Foreign Ministers Outline Disarmament Measures

*LD2810204588 Budapest MTI in English
1839 GMT 28 Oct 88*

["Statement on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, October 28 (MTI)—The states parties to the Warsaw Treaty believe that confidence- and security-building measures can facilitate, as significant means and stimulating factors, the reduction of military threat and the achievement of real disarmament, as well as the strengthening of peace and stability of relations between states.

From the point of view of improving the political atmosphere, the importance of measures adopted at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe in September 1986 is becoming apparent to the extent of their implementation. The Stockholm document demonstrates that important security issues can be solved by political will and mutual efforts by all interested states in the spirit of the new thinking. The resumption of the work of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the further implementation of the Stockholm document and its provisions broadens the perspectives for negotiations concerning both more significant confidence- and security- building measures and the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Further improvement of confidence- and security-building measures on the European continent is of particular significance today when the 23 states parties to the Warsaw Treaty and NATO are preparing to enter into negotiations of unique scope and importance on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. In the view of the allied socialist countries military confidence- and security-building measure and efforts towards the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments are interrelated. Further steps in the field of confidence- and security-building measures facilitate progress towards the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and the solution of other disarmament issues, which in turn would create favourable conditions to increased confidence.

The ministers for foreign affairs of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty believe that the negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe should be continued as early as 1988.

In order to reduce military confrontation and the risk of an armed conflict in Europe, to reduce and avert the danger of a surprise attack and to enhance mutual security, to lend a strictly defensive character to military activities and to increase their openness and predictability as well as to promote the implementation of disarmament measures, the negotiations should make it possible that the measures elaborated ultimately cover the activity of all elements of armed forces (ground, air and naval forces) of the states participating in the process of security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The creation, on an equal basis, of mechanisms and procedures for contacts and consultations would also serve these objectives.

Confidence- and security-building measures should be applied to all the military activities of the participating states that affect European security or which constitute part of military actions taking place within the boundaries of Europe. These measures should be substantial, militarily effective and politically binding.

The military confidence- and security-building measures should be worked out and introduced gradually, taking into account the military and geographical realities in Europe and the level of mutual understanding among states.

Being an important element of the all-European process the negotiations should be conducted on the basis of the Madrid mandate, including the objectives, the principles, the subject of negotiations, the zone of application of confidence- and security-building measures, the rules of procedure contained in the mandate, and should be in accordance with the concluding document of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

It would be expedient to continue efforts at the negotiations to develop and expand the existing confidence- and security-building measures, and a new set of measures could also be worked out on the basis of proposals by the participating states.

Agreements to be reached in the course of the negotiations by the 23 and 35 states respectively should be in harmony with each other and should complement and reinforce each other.

In the view of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures could be worked out in the following main directions:

1. Constraining Measures

The measures would apply to the size and number of simultaneous military exercises, the duration and frequency of military exercises, ban large-scale military exercises and restrict the redeployment of troops and technical equipment. Moreover, they would envisage the limitation of the number of combat-ready (alertness)

military exercises and the number of troops engaged, they would affect the series of large-scale military exercises constituting a unified military exercise by concept, and would also envisage restraint on military activities in the vicinity of the borders of the participating states.

2. New Confidence- and Security-Building Measures

These would include prior notification of independent activities by air and naval forces, invitation of observers according to appropriate parameters, inspection of such activities and agreement on restricting measures, modalities of the exchange of annual calendars of such activities, extension of confidence- and security-building measures to the territories of all the countries participating in the CSCE process, creation of zones of confidence and security in Europe and the adjoining seas and oceans, and also the possibility of working out such confidence- and security- building measures that envisage more stringent regimes on the basis of the closeness to lines of contact between the military-political alliances or other states. Measures to avoid incidents on seas and oceans adjoining Europe and in the airspace thereof would also be coordinated.

Different aspects of military doctrines could be discussed and compared in the course of or in connection with the negotiations. Issues related to a freeze on and reduction of military budgets could also be explored.

The states parties to the Warsaw Treaty believe that the establishment of a European centre for reducing military threat and preventing surprise attack would signify a qualitatively new step in reinforcing mutual confidence. The task of such a centre would be to exchange information and maintaining contacts as well as to hold consultations primarily for the operation settlement of events which give rise to concern of suspicion.

3. Measures To Increase the Openness and Predictability of Military Activities: Inspection, Exchange of Information and Consultations

These measures would cover regular exchange of data on armed forces and their activities, including forces deployed at military bases around Europe, exchange of information of the structure and substance of military budgets, refraining from building up armed forces and renouncing the establishment of new military bases on the territory of foreign states, setting up observation posts at coordinated sites (points) within the zone of application of confidence- and security-building measures, creation of special operative communication links between the interested countries, improving conditions for inspection and working opportunities for observers, the use of the latest technical equipment, developing relations between political and military representatives of the participating states, and broadening the present practice of exchange of military-diplomatic representations and military delegations.

Other measures promoting mutual understanding and enhancing confidence and security could also be adopted.

The ideas and proposals by the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty concerning confidence- and security-building measures are based on the defensive nature of their military doctrine. Their implementation is meant to make the military potentials of the participating states become strictly defensive in nature.

In connection with this, the states represented at the meeting stand for the elimination of military bases of foreign territories and reaffirm their position concerning the simultaneous dissolution of the military-political alliances.

In the opinion of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the convening of an all-European summit meeting to explore issues concerning the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, with the participation of the United States and Canada, would also contribute to the elaboration and implementation of new confidence- and security-building measures.

The states parties to the Warsaw Treaty are ready to study other possible proposals aiming to enhance mutual confidence and security and to accelerate the process of disarmament in Europe.

U.S. INF Inspectors Arrive in GDR 30 Oct
LD3010134388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1317 GMT 30 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A group of U.S. inspectors arrived in the German Democratic Republic 30 October 1988. The inspectors are to check up on the former deployment sites in the GDR on the realization of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The eight inspectors were welcomed at Leipzig-Schkeuditz Airport this morning by representatives of the GDR Foreign Ministry, the GDR National Defense Ministry, and the Soviet Army. According to the agreement between the GDR, USSR, and CSSR on inspections in connection with the INF Treaty, the GDR is meeting its obligations to support the United States in its inspections on GDR territory.

HUNGARY

Karpati Discusses Current Defense Policies
AU1410123188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Sep 88 p 5

[Interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati on the occasion of Army Day, by Laszlo Szabo: "Interview With Ferenc Karpati on a Festive Day About Everyday Issues"—date and place not given]

[Text] Today we are celebrating Hungarian Armed Forces Day. The outstanding soldiers in the struggle for liberation, our successful national Army, won a victory

in the battle of Pakozd 140 years ago. To preserve the memory of this great victory, today the party's central daily greets the soldiers of our People's Army, the border guards, the policemen, and the workers' militia who are carrying out devoted activity for the benefit of the entire society and of the whole country.

Our armed forces and units, just like the entire country, are engaged in changing and shaping the world in which we live today. We asked Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati to tell us his thoughts about Armed Forces Day.

[Karpati] Society is open to renewal, and this, of course, also applies to us, the soldiers. We are also dealing with a lot of issues. As defense minister, I must primarily see to it that our army, the People's Army, is following the positive phenomena that emerge in our society. An indispensable requirement for our People's Army is to continue to meet its basic obligation, namely, to always be able to reliably defend our country's sovereignty and social achievements, and thus, to fulfill our responsibilities in our alliance.

Tough Debates With a Changing Enemy Image

[Szabo] You are a soldier and you carry a weapon, but the world is becoming less tense. Does this change the soldiers' world concept, and do the two armed forces of the two world orders change their concepts of each other?

[Karpati] Apart from the very young people, every adult obviously remembers the months and years following the signing of the Helsinki final document, when hundreds of millions of people all over the world hoped that political detente would also quickly reduce the military confrontation. This did not take place. Many years had to pass before conditions for military detente emerged. The latest Soviet-U.S. summit and its effects most clearly express the favorable direction of recent changes. An agreement was reached at this summit on the mutual withdrawal and destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and the implementation of this agreement has already been started with the help of bilateral verification. The document signed by representatives of 35 countries in Stockholm 2 years ago has also begun to reduce the military confrontation. This document stipulated measures to strengthen military and security confidence in Europe. The implementation of these measures has since begun, and mutual trust has indeed increased. We also see slight progress in the talks on a 50 percent reduction of strategic nuclear arms. I think it is extremely important that there has been progress on the issue of disarmament verification because a lack of progress on this issue has always had a paralyzing effect, to such an extent that it seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle at the talks dealing with the reduction of armed forces and their arms. One can note changes here, too. However, a soldier should not become enthusiastic, but should remain a realist.

[Szabo] What do you mean by this?

[Karpati] The main forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO are stationed in Europe. These forces are comprised of several million soldiers on both sides. Can you understand the significance of this? It means danger! Therefore, the greatest need for reducing military confrontation is here, in Europe, because this is a key issue of further detente and of creating a more secure world. Therefore, world politics focuses today on the reduction of conventional armed forces and their arms in Europe.

I, personally, have great confidence that genuine talks will soon begin in this area which is very important for us.

[Szabo] How does this affect us Hungarians?

[Karpati] At the negotiations, the size and strength of our People's Army will also be analyzed. Of course, I do not have any illusions. There will be tough debates, although neither side can endeavor to achieve superiority over the other. There are still people committed to the policy of power who would like to achieve unilateral advantages and force new waves of the arms race upon us by developing conventional weapons. The talks aimed at reducing conventional forces and arms will show the extent to which our decades-old concept of each other is able to change.

It is also a fact based on precise information that NATO continues to carry out its military program. One of the major elements of this program is the effort to "replace" the dismantled intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles with other, better-quality arms, and to deploy highly accurate conventional arms. I, as one of the military leaders of one of the sides, should also keep in mind that the level of preparedness of NATO troops continues to be high and that NATO is consistently carrying out large-scale military exercises. It is impossible to disregard all this when we describe the other side's image. However, despite these facts, I certainly do not intend to underestimate the changes that have taken place in military rhetoric and the changes in what both sides are stressing.

[Szabo] Does this mean that only the rhetoric has changed, and that the real image has remained the same?

[Karpati] Not at all. Think only of the fact that the defense ministers of the two world powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have held talks, have been getting acquainted with each other, and have visited each other's combat units; all this represents a change in the way we perceive each other. We, Hungarian soldiers, are also striving for openness and dialogue. We continue to strengthen the good relations between the leaders of the Hungarian People's Army and the Austrian and Finnish military leaders in this spirit. Relations are beginning to develop with the British and Swiss military high command. The first meeting of representatives of

the Hungarian People's Army and the U.S. Armed Forces took place recently, on the level of military historians. We are ready to build direct contacts with other NATO armies, too, because we believe that these contacts also strengthen confidence.

Opportunities for Reducing the Military Expenditure

[Szabo] The Warsaw Pact member states have formulated a new military doctrine by adding a new fundamental principle to its defensive character: to maintain reasonably sufficient armed forces and arms. Can this lead to a considerable reduction in our countries' military expenditures in the foreseeable future?

[Karpati] Hungary's military expenditures are determined by developments in the international situation, and not by the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine. Thus, the reduction of military expenditures depends on developments in the balance of forces. The principle of reasonably sufficient forces means that we intend to maintain a sufficient military potential to guarantee our country's security. This, however, depends on the other side's political efforts and forces, too. To create sufficient security, the Warsaw Pact member-states proposed to mutually eliminate the military bases stationed on the territory of foreign countries, to withdraw each side's troops back within its national borders, to remove the most dangerous types of offensive weapons from the area of direct contact between the two military alliances, and to reduce to a minimum, and in a coordinated way, the concentration of armed forces and their arms in Europe. This would lead to a reduction of conventional armed forces and arms in Europe, and to the elimination of the existing imbalances. In this way, we could achieve a balance of forces at a considerably lower level of armament.

[Szabo] The principle of mutuality is becoming clear from your words. There are opinions in Hungary, too, which say: "Why should we wait for this? Let us begin, and they will follow us, and thus we will have advantages in extricating ourselves from our present difficult situation." What is the opinion of a member of our government?

[Karpati] Our efforts are clear. We are open to the idea of bringing about a balance of forces at a lower level of armaments on the basis of reciprocity and acceptable compromises. As a result, considerable forces could be released in Hungary for the benefit of human prosperity, culture, science, and environmental protection. I am optimistic and I am confident in the success of this endeavor. However, I do not want to make predictions. Therefore, I cannot yet give you an answer to the question of when a European country, including Hungary, can considerably reduce its military expenditures.

[Szabo] As far as I know, the Hungarian People's Army has carried out organizational changes over the past 1 and 1/2 years, changes leading to great financial saving. We would like to know more about this.

[Karpati] The main goal of our organizational modernization was to maintain, and if possible develop, our Army's training and combat readiness. As a result of this modernization, our land forces are now more suitable to fulfill their tasks because we modernized these forces in accordance with our conditions. However, because of the balance of forces between the two military alliances, these changes did not have a basic effect on the Army's size, arms, and the amount of combat technology. As I have already mentioned, reduction in personnel and arms depends only on the result of negotiations on armed forces reduction.

Naturally, in the course of these organizational changes, we also considered the need to make even more economic use of our financial and personnel possibilities in the future. Therefore, we reduced the number of large military organizations and their leading bodies. In the future, these will need smaller sums for maintenance and development, and the efficiency of their leadership will also increase. As a result of these changes, the number of various levels of military exercises will decrease, and so will their size; thus, our expenditures will also decrease. As a result of an internal reorganization, the size of peacetime units has increased, and this makes it possible to call up fewer reserves. Thus, the number of people who must temporarily stop their civilian activity will decrease.

Other areas were also affected by these organizational modifications. We have just finished the fusion of the home front and civilian defense organizations. The activity of simplifying the structure of the Defense Ministry is also under way. All this will increase the efficiency of the leadership, eliminate parallelism and exaggerated centralism, and will also allow us to make personnel cuts in most cases.

As defense minister, have you heard that certain professional warrant officers and officers of the Hungarian People's Army have voiced concern for their jobs when confronted with declarations demanding a reduction in defense expenditures?

[Karpati] Yes, I have, but I do not think that this can be traced back to detente in general, or to the much desired disarmament. Our warrant officers and officers are realistic people, and by this I mean several things. I think it is well known that professional soldiers can hardly make extra money or carry out extra activities to add to their wages. This is particularly true in the case of young soldiers who are beginning their careers. Every young man has a natural desire to establish a family, start his own life, own a car, and travel abroad, but within a short time, his wages are not enough to do all of this. We try to ease the problems of young people who start their career

with us as much as possible. We consider housing and an interest-free loan for families the most important elements of our efforts. However, today the People's Army is even organizing group trips abroad. There are, of course, young people here who mistook their vocation, but such things happen elsewhere, too. For some years, however, we have had favorable experiences concerning young people who enroll at the military college. There are much greater possibilities for selecting cadres than before.

The existence of various unjustified and superficial opinions full of illusions about the Army's justification have, of course, an unfavorable effect on the mood of our professional soldiers. However, our officers and warrant officers are aware of the problems confronting our society and, according to our experience, they do not get confused when they get involved in a debate.

[Szabo] It seems that society's respect for the Hungarian soldier has increased in the last decade. Today, however, because of some manifestations, demands, and declarations, the professional soldiers, policemen, border policemen, and workers militia sometimes feel that their existence allegedly "costs" the society their very food, and they even express this feeling. Are you aware of this mood?

[Karpati] Yes, I am aware of it. I am glad that you have also noticed the increase in society's respect toward the Hungarian soldier. The fact that the Hungarian soldiers honestly carry out their share of society's division of labor has definitely contributed to this increase in their prestige. The same is true of the Hungarian policemen, border guards, and workers militia who are ready to defend our country's sovereignty and our society's achievements, to eliminate the consequences of catastrophes and natural disasters, and to maintain public security and political order. These are facts, not resounding phrases. During our activity, we generally do not create products, so we are primarily consumers. However, we are aware of the fact that we are needed. Therefore, I can declare that we do not "pinch" anyone's food, to use your words. On the contrary, we contribute to the creation of this food with our particular means, by guaranteeing the conditions of peaceful and calm activity for our people.

Of course, our self-awareness would not be sufficient in itself. I am convinced that the millions of people who want to preserve our socialist achievements and who work for social renewal are also aware of the fact that our Armed Forces are serving the interests of the people.

[Szabo] The National Assembly has recently claimed that defense expenditures details should be made public. As one who must know the limits of real secrets, how far would you go in making such information public?

[Karpati] I consider the open discussion of defense expenditures an important issue today. The general political development currently under way in Hungary requires the supply of broad and genuine information on every important issue concerning the country. I believe in this because I know that this can only help people to see things clearly, while unjustified secrecy benefits precisely those people who like to fish in troubled waters.

We feel that the role of the National Assembly in directing the country's affairs is currently changing. I am convinced that an increase in openness about us would only contribute to the cause of defense and the interests of our People's Army. This is an important endeavor of our party. The defense of our country is the affair of our entire society; this is an essential concept of our Constitution, and I hope this will also be properly represented in our new Constitution currently being prepared. I think it is necessary for the National Assembly to debate on, accept, and strengthen the main goals of defense and its available resources. In my opinion, control carried out by bodies that represent the people's interests only strengthens the citizens' readiness for defense, their preparedness, and their responsibility.

In addition, greater openness is justified by the fact that the exchange of information is becoming increasingly important in various international meetings in order to conduct genuine negotiations about the asymmetry of forces, about how to eliminate this asymmetry, and about enforcing a balance. The defense expenditures have always been included in the budget debate, although we did not provide details of how we spent these funds. I think it is possible to provide more details in this respect.

Details From the Army Budget

[Szabo] Here is the chance to do so, Comrade Karpati: What are the expenditures of the Defense Ministry?

[Karpati] I will mention some figures to provide examples. This year the budget allocated a total of 2,240 billion forints for supplying the Army with food. (Professional soldiers pay for their food.) The budget allocated 1,554 billion forints for clothing; 1,334 billion forints for military health services; 2,110 billion forints for maintenance and renewal of military facilities, including 1,370 billion forints for barracks; 9,940 billion forints for salaries; and 230 million forints for our secondary school student hostels. I think that even the National Assembly is not "curious" to know how many tanks, radars, or air defense missiles we buy, because, for the time being, the world's armies do not provide such details about their secrets. Of course, this does not mean that, in the spirit of the law on state secrets, the Defense Committee of the National Assembly could not receive even more detailed information. I think that international negotiations will probably lead the world to an even greater openness, in which the quantity and quality of arms will also be detailed.

[Szabo] The world press has recently carried rumors about the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary, rumors that misled international public opinion and domestic public opinion, too, because there is no longer a scarcity of news in Hungary. This also shows that the idea exists that foreign troops will be withdrawn in the framework of an international agreement. Is there any reality behind this?

[Karpati] I consider the current international atmosphere favorable for starting genuine negotiations between the two military alliances on arms limitations, reduction of armed forces, and elimination of the existing asymmetry, including the withdrawal of foreign troops on both sides. I will only remind you that Comrade Shevardnadze proposed at the UN special meeting in June 1988, among other things, eliminating the entire foreign military presence by the year 2000. No favorable answer has come from the NATO circles yet. Of course, there are 12 more years until that deadline. This is a long time, but it is not up to us to make it shorter. We desire mutual reduction and withdrawal of troops.

Unilateral Withdrawal—Extra Burden

[Szabo] Can one imagine some sort of unilateral decision in this respect?

[Karpati] Not from a mutual security viewpoint. If, for example, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops stationed abroad and NATO did not follow with such steps, the member countries would have to fill the vacuum created by this act. This would apply to us, too. Think of the huge, extra burden this would represent for Hungary. Therefore, we support a joint elimination of the existing asymmetry, followed by a mutual reduction in military forces, and the creation of a balance of forces at a much lower level of armament.

In this process, we consider the withdrawal of Soviet troops—or their partial withdrawal—from Hungary to be possible and realistic. We hope that talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe will start soon, perhaps this year, and that these talks will lead to results favorable for Hungary as soon as possible.

[Szabo] Hungary is a member of an armed alliance to which it is bound by ideas, as well as by legal obligations. I am sure that the socialist countries will reach a point when the friendship between the allied members will be sufficient, and there will be no need to express this friendship in the form of an armed alliance. I have come across opinions that regard this as attainable today. What is your opinion about this?

[Karpati] I would like to give you an exact answer. Hungary is a member of a political and military alliance in which the political aspect is the dominant character today. This was not always so. There were times when, justifiably, the public was informed only about the

military aspect of the Warsaw Pact, and this, naturally, strengthened the military aspect in society's awareness. Things have changed, and today the political aspect is the determining characteristic in this alliance which also involves military power. The expressed goal of the Warsaw Pact alliance is to eliminate, as soon as possible, its members' armed interdependence that is currently still inevitable. I have already mentioned the conditions for the implementation of this goal. If NATO is dismantled, there will be no need for a joint military organization on our side either. We believe in a simultaneous elimination of military organizations. In my opinion, following the elimination of military blocs, we will strengthen our political cooperation with the Soviet Union and the friendly socialist countries in a more developed, multilateral, and efficient form than hitherto.

Pozsgay on Dismantling Western Border Alarm LD2710101388 Budapest MTI in English 0910 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI)—"Hungary is no longer interested in maintaining the electric alarm system on its western border. It has become outdated historically, politically and technically alike, and will probably be dismantled in the foreseeable future. We hope this measure will improve public feeling and continue to improve relations between Hungary and Austria," said State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. He was speaking to a "NEPSZA-BADSAG" reporter after his Wednesday [26 October] visit to the frontier guard.

He pointed out the border is guarded not against Hungarian citizens but in the interest of the country's sovereignty, security and cooperation with other states, and to avert events that might disturb public order.

The state minister was told there had been about 2,000 violations of Hungary's borders during 1987, and 6,800 this year. Ninety-eight per cent of the violations were committed by foreign citizens, mainly Romanians heading for Hungary via the Hungarian-Romanian border.

MTI Cites Gen Abrahamson's Defense of SDI LD2810024288 Budapest MTI in English 2111 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Scheveningen, October 27 (MTI)—Denes Baracs, MTI correspondent, reports:

The deployment of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) would be the result of a national and international decision of high priority. The first elements of the system cannot be deployed before 1996, if an unambiguous, positive decision is made in 1992-94, said General James Abrahamson, programme-director of the US Star Wars' plan.

As part of the session of nuclear design group of NATO held in Scheveningen, General Abrahamson answered the questions of the correspondent of MTI. He reiterated the official reasoning that the reduction of strategic armaments would facilitate the realization of the star wars' plans as it would give protection against fewer missiles. As a result, the weapons of SDI would be deployed at a reduced price, which would encourage the elimination of strategic missiles. By contrast, the Soviet opinion, as well-established, is that the implementation of the star wars' programme would make the reduction in strategic weapons impossible.

The general voiced his satisfaction over the announcement of Mikhail Gorbachev that the Soviet Union is also conducting research in space weapons. He called this a manifestation of glasnost and added that Washington is

even more open about its research. He rejected the idea that the US would be ready to transfer technology that can be used against the country. Mr Reagan's well-known statement does not concern military technology, but only means that Washington is willing to share the 'the fruits of technology' with the Soviet Union.

In the interview General Abrahamson reiterated that, through the Geneva talks, the United States is keeping up continuous contacts with both its allies and the Soviet Union, and this is why he calls the decision on the possible deployment also an international decision. According to the number-one coordinator and propagandist of the star wars' programme, research is to furnish the political and military leadership with means to talks both on armament reduction and defence. Giving up the plan, General Abrahamson said, would be a mistake.

INDIA

Indian Papers Welcome Gorbachev
Vladivostok Proposals

TIMES OF INDIA Editorial

52500005 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
19 Sep 88 p 8

[Editorial: "For Greater Security"]

[Text] Two years after his landmark Vladivostok speech, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has produced some bold proposals for enhancing security in the Asia-Pacific region, which deserve to be welcomed. The main thrust of Mr Gorbachev's new proposals consists in reducing rivalry through confidence-building measures and mutual negotiations. And he has sought to underline the seriousness of his intent by making a unilateral declaration that the USSR will not increase the level of nuclear weapons deployed by it in the Asia-Pacific region. Such a unilateral announcement at once raises the credibility of the Soviet proposals and should set the stage for purposive [as printed] discussions—provided, of course, that China, Japan, and the U.S. agree to begin them. There is certainly a strong case for such talks: it is vital to ensure the safety of sea and air lanes in a region that is now swamped with military vessels and aircraft of all descriptions. It is equally difficult to argue against Mr Gorbachev's call for multilateral discussions between the USSR, China, Japan, and the two Koreas to lower military confrontation and reduce their forces in areas where their coasts meet.

Perhaps the most significant of Mr Gorbachev's proposal relates to the simultaneous elimination of the Soviet Union's military base in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay and the U.S. Subic Bay and Clark airfield bases in the Philippines. It is virtually certain, however, that Washington will not agree to such a withdrawal, especially in view of Mr Gorbachev's endorsement of a conference before 1990 to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. This implies the dismantling of Diego Garcia as a military base which gives the U.S. immense advantage over the entire ocean—a proposal this country has long canvassed and many others have backed. Only a massive change in U.S. military perceptions and strategic doctrines could get Washington to respond positively to these proposals. In the meanwhile, Mr Gorbachev's peace offensive could have the desirable effect of promoting the concept of a nuclear-free and more secure Asia, especially if China—with whom he has proposed an early summit—agrees to be drawn into the peace process. Although it is unclear if China's current strategic doctrines favour such an approach, there have been recent indications that Beijing is not adverse to joining the peace process. If it does do so, as a result of the proposed Gorbachev-Deng summit, a historic change could take place in the Asia-Pacific region, all to its benefit.

Communist Paper's Editorial

52500005 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
19 Sep 88 p 4

[Editorial: "Detente in Eurasia"]

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's speech of 16 September is a major move to extend detente to Asia, now increasingly the center of tensions and unresolved conflicts. His seven-point proposal for the region, unveiled at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia on Friday, speaks of his clear understanding that global detente and peaceful coexistence cannot be possible if the Asia and the Pacific region, which account for nearly half the world population, becomes, as it is most likely to be, the main area of tensions. The plan for freezing nuclear weapons deployment in the region, dismantling the Soviet and the US naval bases, and early tripartite Sino-Soviet-US summit to negotiate the limiting and lowering of naval and air presences is bold. It contains great strategic significance for the whole region. Mr Gorbachev's offer to give up the Soviet fleet's base in Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam if the US agrees to dismantle its Subic Bay naval base and the Clark air base in the Philippines acknowledges the imperative of the situation if tensions are to be lowered and the process of detente made meaningful for this region. For the littoral countries of the India Ocean, Mr Gorbachev's call for an international conference before 1990 to make the Ocean a zone of peace provides significant hope. The Soviet leader has affirmed his readiness to make peace and disarmament an irreversible process.

Given the political complexities of today's world, the vested interests of arms merchants and resistance of imperialist powers to change, instant or early East-West Agreement on the Gorbachev plan may not be forthcoming. However, the proposals are not impossible to be achieved if the present propulsion towards demilitarisation, disarmament and lowering of tensions is continued and persisted with. When "detente" was first mentioned, skeptics the world over scoffed at the idea. Two decades thence, sustained efforts have given the concept some shape. The process can become practical only when the Asia and the Pacific region is also drawn into it.

The universal acclaim received by Mr Gorbachev's advocacy of "glasnost", the opening up of Soviet society, pursuit of "perestroika", plans for restructuring the Soviet economy, the success of his bold new initiatives in efforts to reverse nuclear and conventional arms race, globally as well as between the great powers, attest to his capacity for bold leadership. The Soviet leader's clarity of perception and commitment to action came through most vividly in his famous Vladivostok speech over two years ago. From it flowed the new ideas and impetus for domestic restructuring, disarmament and detente. After the INF Treaty concluded at a summit with President Reagan last year, Mr Gorbachev has now decided to expand the Euro-centric concept of detente to include Asia and the Pacific region.

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